THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Venkatraman, will you resume your speech, not about what you were referring to the newspaper ?

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA: What is the ruling on my point?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: When the Home Minister replies to the debate, he will consider that.

श्री अश्विनी कुमार (बिहार) : मैंने भी आपसे एक मिनट के लिए समय मांगा था मैडम, अगर आप समय देंगी तो बड़ी कृपा होगी । मेरा इतना ही कहना है कि जिस महत्वपूर्ण विषय को हमारे नेता विरोधी दल ने उठाया है—आतंकवाद, जो आज इस तरह से सारे देश में बढ़ रहा है । उत्तर प्रदेश की सरकार ने निर्दोष...

उप सभापति : मैं आपको टर्न पर आपको अलाऊ कर दूंगी । बैठिए । I will allow you later. I have already identified Shri Venkatraman. Let him speak. (*Interruptions*). I am not replying to you. I have not identified you.

SHRI RAM AWADHESH SINGH:*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I do not know. You ask the Table. This is not my job.

DISCUSSIONS ON MATTERS OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE

I. Growing menace of terrorism and other subversive activities encouraged by outside powers—Contd.

SHRI TINDIVANAM G. VENKATRAMAN (Tamil Nadu): Madam Deputy Chairman, I have been telling this House that the real cause for the growth and spread of terrorism are the politicians themselves...(*Interruptions*)...on tthe one hand they are encouraging terrorism and, on the other, when the situation goes out of hand, they condemn terrorism. Mainly the local politicians encourage terrorists for reasons best known to them and, once terrorism grows and spreads when their positions are tilted, then they raise a hue and cry about it... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI RAM AWADHESH SINGH (Bihar):*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The honourable Member, who is speaking without my permission, is not going on record.

SHRI TINDIVANAM G. VENKATRAMAN: Madam, so far as the question of Punjab and Kashmir is concerned, this Government and the previous Government have tried their best to see that the matter is settled, but the matter is not being settled because they have not been able to reach the hearts of the people to find out what the main reason is. The Prime Minister of the previous Government had been to Punjab, and the present Home Minister also has gone there and met the people, but the Government must be able to find out the main reasons behind the problem and should be able to guide the misguided youths and clear the atmosphere of suspicion...(*Interruptions*)... Unless and until we are able to go to the root of the problem, we will not be able to solve this problem at all.

Moreover, Madam, what is happening in the countryside. There a Government Andhra Pradesh, it cannot be disputed that actually he militants only are ruling in the country side. There a Government is still going on, the ruling party is still going on there, but the newspapers say that in those eight districts these militants are collecting taxes, literally ruling those eight districts, and those people who are actually supposed to be at the helm of affairs are not able to enter the villages at all. And justice is being dispensed under the banian tree where the judges are teenagers. These teenagers go there and deliver judgements. It is there in the newspapers and magazines. Therefore, what is the type of Government that is running in Andhra Pradesh? In those

*Not recorded.

[Shri Tindivanam G. Venkatraman]

eight districts where goondas are ruling over the people, there is a Government to say that there is also a Government. Then is this not a case where, actually the law and order situation is out of order? That the situation is so in those eight districts cannot be disputed by any stretch of imagination, and no denial has come from any Government quarter so far. We have been aware of this fact, Madam, because when the previous Tamil Nadu Government was there with regard to the diversion of Krishna waters to Madras city our State PWD Minister went there and wanted to visit some of the places along with some officials. But officials of the Andhra Pradesh Government told them that then they would have to get the permission of the Naxalites to visit those places. So, that is the pitiable condition in which the Government is running there. Is a Government running there actually? We are now pampering such Governments. Is this not a case where article 356 should be invoked where, actually, the law and order machinery has completely broken down and apart of the country is being ruled by Naxalites. Therefore, it is also a part of the mistake of the Central Government of having a partial view to let the Government there continue because that State is also ruled by a Congress Government. Therefore, this type of partiality also leads to chaos and confusion. So, Madam, the yardstick must be uniform.

Madam, what is happening in Kashmir? There, we had seen that they had the audacity to burn the National Flag. This attitude is dying down, somehow or other. Then, it is also a welcome sign that the ULFA are now approaching the Government for negotiations sign, that the ULFA are now approach- and so on. Like in these cases, we must be able to approach all those people and somehow solve this problem and see that this problem oes not go on perennially.

So, Madam, I submit that the politicians must act judiciously and there should not be any injustice and partisan attitude because their party happens to be in power. With these words, Madam, I thank you.

SHRI ASHWANI KUMAR (Bihar): Madam, are you allowing me to rise?

उपसभापति : आपको समय बाद में दूंगी । जिनका नाम मेरे पास लिस्टिड है... (**व्यवधान**)

श्री अश्विनी कुमार : राम नरेश यादव को आपने समय दिया... (**व्यवधान**)

उपसभापति : आप अपनी बात बाद में कह दीजियेगा... (**व्यवधान**) लेकिन जीरो आँवर तो खत्म हो गया है । Everything is zero now!

श्री अश्विनी कुमार : अगर कोई जबर्दस्ती समय लेता है तो आप उसको बोलने देती हैं ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I did not give anybody time, please. I did not give time to anybody, please. If Members misbehave in the House, they do not do it with my permission, please. If they o it they o it on their own free will. I try to keep them under control. That is all I can do. Please take your seat. You are senior Member... (*Interruptions*)

I did not permit him, and nothing has gone on record.

SHRI SIKANDER BAKHT (Madhya Pradesh): Has whatever Mr. Jaipal said, gone on record or not?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That has gone on reecord.

SHRI SIKANDER BAKHT: Then?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: But, I said that after this list was finished. ... (*Interruptions*)

मैं आपको एक बात बताऊं। आपको शायद यह रूल पता होगा कि जब हम एक बिजनैस से दूसरे बिजनैस पर आ जाते हैं We cannot revert back to another business. This is never done in this House, and it should not be done while I am sitting in the Chair.

But I can assure Mr. Ashwani Kumar that before the Minister replies on terrorism, I will give him an opportunity to speak. Could it not be better? Let me run this House in a proper order. If you want disorder, you are most welcome to have it. I have no objection to it. But let me run it in a proper order.

श्री अश्विनी कुमार : आपने उस समय यह स्पष्ट नहीं किया था ।

उपसभापति : मैंने स्पष्ट किया था, आप सुनना नहीं चाहते हैं तो मैं क्या करूं ।

श्री अश्विनी कुमार : ठीक है, आप बाद में समय देंगी तो मैं बाद में बोल लूंगा । इसमें क्या है ।

उपसभापति : आप लोग सुनना नहीं चाहते हैं । This is the trouble. Now you have heard it. That is all. In this din, if you cannot hear me, do you expect me to hear you when ten persons are speaking?

श्री अश्विनी कुमार : मैं कुछ नहीं कह रहा हूं, मैंने तो निवेदन किया था ।

उपसभापति : आप तशरीफ़ रखिए मैं आपको बोलने दूंगी। अभी मिश्र जी को बोलने दीजिए ।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र (बिहार) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आतंकवाद के विषय पर साल्वे जी ने चर्चा उठाकर बहुत अच्छा काम किया है क्योंकि हमारा देश आज आतंकवाद का भयंकर रूप से शिकार हो रहा है । जैसा कि हम सभी जानते हैं कि आतंकवाद के रूप में एक नयी किस्म की लड़ाई करने का तरीका निकाला गया है जिसके लिए न हमारी सरकार तैयार रहती है और न समाज तयार रहता है । तरीका कुछ ऐसा है कि timee, place and opportunity सब कुछ दूसरा पक्ष तय करता है । हमको नहीं तय करना है । हम नहीं जानते हैं । कोई हमारे बारे में सोच रहा है, वही टाइम भी तय करेगा, वही प्लेस भी तय करेगा, और जो रक्षा करने वाले हैं उनके हाथ में कुछ भी नहीं है । इसलिए यह एक अत्यंत ही भयानक किस्म की चीज है जो दुनियां के अन्य देशों में भी है और हमारे देश में भी है।

मैं इसकी चर्चा एक और बात से करना चाहूंगा कि ऐसे देश जो पुरानी सभ्यता के थे, जहां ओल्ड सिविलाइजेशन थी, जिन पर साम्राज्यवादियों ने कब्जा कर लिया था और उनका स्वाभाविक विकास नहीं हुआ, न तो उनकी संस्कृति का विकास हुआ, न उनकी भाषा का विकास हुआ न उनके धर्म का विकास हुआ, कुछ भी स्वाभाविक विकास नहीं हुआ । आजादी प्राप्त होने के बाद पिछड़े राष्ट्रिकों की स्थिति पर जो उचित ध्यान देना चाहिए था, वह कम से कम हम लोगों के देश में या जो दक्षिण एशिया के पुराने देश हैं, उन लोगों में तो इसको किया जा सका नतीजा यह हो गया है कि हमारे इस राष्ट्र के अंदर जो असंतुष्ट लोग थे, उन्होंने इस टैररिज्म का एक रास्ता अख्तियार कर लिया, जो हम सबके लिए बहुत ही घातक हो गया है और देश के भीतर जब ऐसे असंतुष्ट तत्व थे, तो उसका फायदा साम्राज्यवादी देशों ने उठाया है । सीमावर्ती उन्नत भारतीय राज्य भी इसके शिकार हैं । उन्होंने, जो युद्ध के वेटरन थे, उन लोगों ने इसको एक बिजनैस बना लिया और उन्होंने ऐसे लोगों की ट्रेनिंग शुरु की और आधुनिक तरीके से उनको ट्रेंड करके वे देश के अंदर आतंक पैदा करवाते हैं ।

अभी श्रीलंका में ऐसा होता है, अभी हमारे देश के अंदर भी ऐसा होता है । अब इस परिस्थिति में हमारे जो पाकिस्तान के साथ मतभेद हैं, उनका भी इस्तेमाल पाकिस्तान वालों ने किया खासकर पंजाब और कश्मीर में और हमारे जो असंतुष्ट लोग थे, चाहे वे खालिस्तानी लोग हों चाहे दूसरे लोग हों, उनका भी इस्तेमाल, उन्होंने किया । जैसा कि मैंने आपसे कहा जो धार्मिक विश्वासों के कारण, जिनका स्वाभाविक विकास नहीं हो पाया था, उन असंतुष्ट लोगों को भी वे लोग इस्तेमाल करते हैं । हमारे पूर्वांचल के क्षेत्र में एक ऐसा ही बहुत बड़ा भूभाग है भारत और बर्मा के बीच में जमीन है, वह नो मैन लैंड की तरह से पड़ा हुआ है । इसीलिए वहां पर ऐसे लोगों को ट्रेनिंग दी जा रही

(श्री चतुरानन मिश्र)

है, उनके जरिए हत्याएं की जा रही हैं। जो सबसे खतरनाक बात आज हो गई है सांप्रदायिकता की बात। इस प्रसंग में जो हमारे देश में नई बात हुई है वह है हिन्दू सांप्रदायिकता का उभरकर आना। इधर हमारे बी०जे०पी० के लोग हैं जो इसके जनक हैं। इन्होंने अब क्योंकि उत्तर प्रदेश में इनकी सरकार है इस बात को महसूस किया है और वे भी अब केन्द्रीय सरकार से मांग कर रहे हैं कि हमको सी०आर०पी० दीजिए। पहले शुरु में जब सी०आर०पी० भेजने की बात होती थी सभी इसका विरोध करते थे। यू०पी० के तराई क्षेत्र में आतंक तेजी से फैल रहा है जब से पीलीभीत में सिख तीर्थ यात्रियों की हत्या हुई पुलिस द्वारा... **(समय की घंटी)**

थोड़ा और समय दीजिए तो बोलें ?

उपसभापति : मेरे हाथ में है नहीं। आपने देखा कि बिजिनेस बहुत ज्यादा है... We have to finish it. For the last four days it is going on. Somewhere we have to stop.

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : दो मिनट में समाप्त करता हूं।

महोदया, मैं कह रहा था कि पहले हमारे देश के अंदर जब कहीं सी०आर०पी० भेजी जाती थी तो ये समझते थे कि केन्द्रीय सरकार दखल दे रही है। ये लोग तब केन्द्र सरकार की निन्दा करते थे और कहते थे कि यह हस्तक्षेप कर रही है। लेकिन अब स्वाभाविक रूप से ये भीं मांग कर रहे हैं क्योंकि ये असहाय हो गए हैं, हिन्दू कम्यूनेलिज्म का असर पड़ता इनको भी दिखाई दे रहा है और चारों तरफ़ जो उग्रवाद पैदा हो रहा है इसको ये महसूस कर रहे हैं। मैं समझता हूं कि अब भी समय है कि यह जो तथाकथित एकता यात्रा है, इससे ये सबक लें और इस तरह की सांप्रदायिकता से देश को बचाएं वर्ना सारा देश लेबनान बन जाएगा।

महोदया, पोस्ट वार पीरियड में एक सबसे बड़ा धंधा जो चला है वह है नशीले पदार्थों का व्यापार। यह व्यापार बड़े पैमाने पर अंतर्राष्ट्रीय क्षेत्र में बिलियंस ऑफ डालर्स में चलता है। इसमें दुनियां के अनेक देशों के लोग लगे हुए हैं। ये लोग टैरोरिज्म को फैलाने में सीधी मदद करते हैं। सरकार इसको रोकने में पूरी तरह से असफल है। यह व्यापार अंतर्राष्ट्रीय व्यापार है और अंतर्राष्ट्रीय व्यापार अंतर्राष्ट्रीय तरीके से चलता है और इसलिए डिप्लोमेटिक तरीके से अंतर्राष्ट्रीय तरीके से ही इसका समाधान निकल सकता है। लेकिन हमारी सरकार अपने क्षेत्र में भी इसका निराकरण करने में असमर्थ है, इसको रोकने में असमर्थ है। इसलिए इससे जो नुकसान होता है उसके गंभीर परिणाम देश को भोगने पड़ रहे हैं। मेरे पास समय नहीं है, इसलिए मैं इस समय इसकी बहस में नहीं पड़ना चाहता, लेकिन एक दो बातें कहकर समाप्त करना हूं।

मेरा पहला सुझाव यह है कि गृह मंत्रालय को चाहिए कि नई परिस्थिति को देखते हुए टैरोरिज्म को पुराने तरीकों से समाप्त करना संभव नहीं है। इसलिए नए तरीके अख्तियार करने की जरूरत है। मैं तो चाहता था कि नए तरीकों पर कुछ कहूं लेकिन समय नहीं है, इसलिए मैं चाहता हूं कि हमारी सरकार इसके बारे में सोचे। दुनियां के कुछ देशों में ऐसा लगता है कि वे इसे करने में समर्थ हुए हैं। लेकिन कोआरडिनेटेड अंतर्राष्ट्रीय कदम की जरूरत है और एक विश्व भावना इसके लिए बन रही है।

आखिरी बात मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि जब अपने देश में कोई सरकार ऐसी होती है जिसके सामने कोई राष्ट्रीय कार्यक्रम नहीं होता है, राष्ट्र के पुनर्गठन का कार्यक्रम नहीं होता है तो हमारे देश में ऐसी चीजें भड़क पड़ती हैं। लेकिन संकट का समय जब जब भी आया है सारा राष्ट्र एक हो जाता है। उस वक्त न कम्यूनेलिज्म होता है, न धार्मिक झगड़े होते है न भाषगत झगड़े होते है। इसलिये अगर आप इसको रोकाना चाहते हैं तो एक राष्ट्रीय अभियान पुनर्गठन का बनाइए जिसमें आम लोगों को विश्वास हो कि उनके लिए कुछ किया जा सकता है। ऐसा न हो जैसा अभी हो रहा है कि

लोग महंगाई से मर रहे हैं और हम लोग भाषण पर भाषण देते जाते हैं । इसलिए मैं सरकार से अनुरोध करता हूं कि जिस खतरनाक तरीके स ये बातें हो रही हैं, हमारी राजधानी में हो रही हैं, टाइम फ्रेम और अंदर इनीशियेटिव उनके हाथों में रहता है, इनका सरकार नए तरीके से हल करे । धन्यवाद ।

SHRI DAVID LEDGER (Assam): This is the fourth day that we have been discussing the subject of terrorism and subversive activities encouraged by outside powers. The subject, no doubt, is of great importance and has a lot of relevance in the present-day context. My esteemed colleagues, who have already spoken on he subject have dealt at lenth on the dangers that may arise out of the communalism of the BJP brand and the role of some of our neighbouring countries who have been aiding and abetting terrorist and subversive activities across our borders and also on the terrorism at the international level. Madam, I feel that no discussion of debate on this subject can be complete without a specific reference to State terrorism. The State terrorism in its worst form, in its vicious and crude form has been witnessed today in India. It is all the more necessary that when we speak on the subject of terrorism and subversive activities, we address ourselves to the root cause of the emergence of this phenomenon. I think, Prof. Swell is right when he says that our problems are home-grown and have their roots in the wrong policies which have been followed by the Government of India so far. A mere reference to or raising an accusing finger at the foreign power only brings to light one side of the problem. While we discuss this subject, the first states which comes to the mind are Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir and Assam. There is also the unrest in Tamil Nadu. There is also the Naxalite activity along Andhra Pradehh, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra borders. There are also the activities of terrorism arising out of the mafia activities and the nexus between the police and criminals and politicians in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar which the Government of India more often than not choose to dismiss as a mere law and order problem, although the fact is that these activities are equally alarming in proportion and dimension as the activities of militancy or insurgency in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir and Assam.

Madam, may I remind the Government only taken advantage. This is not for a story of dishonoured commitments, of rigged elections, of dismissal of State Governments, prolonged spell of President's rule, suspended Assemblies and the tragic failure on the part of our rulers to understand the aspirations of the Kashmiris? Pakistan has only taken advantage. This is not for a moment an attempt to absolve Pakistan of the kind of mischief which they have been up to in the Kashmir border.

The story of Punjab is another story of unfulfilled promises, of deliberate creation of Frankenstein, of prolonged spell of Predent's rule, of denial of democratic rights to the people of Punjab, of fooling around the people of that State to the Centre. The story of Punjab is a story of a series of mistakes and political blunders which we have ourselves committed. Pakistan has only made it convenient to fish in troubled waters.

Tht hon. Home Minister the other day rightly pointed out that the Government of India has ample evidence in its hands of the aiding and abetting that the Pakistan Government is doing in the case of encouraging terrorism on our soil. There is ample evidence about training camps which have been set up in Pakistan, where the Sikh youths have been trained up in the use of firearms, where they have been indoctrinated and sent into our soil to resort to subversive activities and do acts of terrorism.

We condemn unequivocally the attitude of Pakistan towards these activities. But at the same time we must also ponder over our own mistakes and analyse them in their correct historical, socio-economic and political perspectives. We have never correctly analyse the follies which have committed in Punjab. We are yet to analyse correctly the fall-out of Operation Bluestar and Operation Woodrose. We are

[Shri David Ledger]

yet to analyse the amount of hurt caused to the Sikh psyche as a result of these operations.

The Government of India is yet to solve the river waters dispute. The Government of India is yet to solve the Capital dispute, the dispute arising out of the demand by the State regarding the Capital. Unless these mistakes are rectified, there is no use blaming our neighbours. Similar is the story of Assam as we have said in this House umpteen times. It is a story of neglect and deprivation. Today, there is insurgency; today, there is militant activity; we have never disputed that. But we must also analyse these developments in their correct socio-economic, political and historical perspectives. The Government of India can only think about one solution. That is the army operation. We have had army operations one after another. In the last one and a half years, we had Operation Bajrang; we have had Operation Sher-e-Dil; and now we are having Operation Rhino. All these operations put together—I may respectfully submit—have only managed to generate more resentment, more anger and a more rebellious mood among the common people of Assam because it is the common civilians who have been sandwiched between the militants and the security forces. Mercifully, the ULFA,

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude now.

SHRI DAVID LEDGER: Madam, just give me one or two minutes more. I will finish.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have before me five names and there are only 16 minutes. That is to be divided among five Members.

THE LEADER OF OPPOSITION (SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY): He is speaking so well.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I know he is speaking so well. You could have given five or six minutes from the time of your party. I have no objection to transferring it.

SHRI DAVID LADGER: Madam, mercifully, the United Liberation Front of Assam has taken a unilateral decision; they have released the hostages; they have also announced the cessation of hostilities for an indefinite period; and the latest position is that they have also come forward for a dialogue. I feel that the Government of India should seize this initiative and should invite them for a dialogue to find an amicable solution once and for all and to find answers to the issue which have been raised.

Before I conclude, I would just like to point out one thing. Whenever there is an incident of insurgency or militancy or any act of terrorism or subversive activity in this country, our first reaction is to blame our neighbours, the proverbial foreign hand. Some of our neighbours have been up to mischief for a very long time, for very many years. But that is not the sole problem. May I ask the Government of India these questions? Was it not the Government of India which went all out and helped East Pakistan and created Bangladesh? Was it not an internal affair of another sovereign country? Did our soldiers not go into East Pakistan borders in the garb of 'Mukti Bahini'? Was it not the Indian Army which trained the LTTE and finally went into Sri Lanka, into Jaffna, to contain the same LTTE and to kill them? Madam, there is a double-standard in what we say and what de wo. There is a double-standard. Unless we do away with this double-standard, unless we bring about a change in our approach, unless we try to create an atmosphere of confidence among our people, I feel we are in for some more insurgency, some more terrorism in this country.

With these words, madam, I thank you very much for giving me this opportunity.

SHRI SARADA MOHANTY (Orissa): Madam, I will speak in Oriya. *Madam Deputy-Chairman, I am thankful to you for giving me this opportunity to speak

*English translation of the original speech delivered in Oriya.

on the growing menace of terrorism in our country. The progress of the country is badly affected by the subversive and disruptive activities on the part of a section of the misguided youths in our country. Due to lack of proper education and gainful employment the youths are easily misguided into the wrong paths by the anti-socials and criminals of the society. The defective education system fails to prevent these youths from taking drugs and indulging in smuggling of drugs and gold.

These unemployed youths are made easy victims of the machination of foreign powers who want to do havoc with our internal peace and tranquility. The foreign powers do not want that India should be self-dependent in every sphere. Our neighbouring countries also contribute to the prevalent internal unrest and terrorism in our country. They are giving training in terrorism to our misguided youths.

Madam Deputy-Chairman, the Naxals are taking the advantage of the lacuna in our Land Reforms Act. They are also responsible in perpetuating this growing menace of terrorism and secessionism in our country.

Another cause of terrorism is the discrimination on the part of the Central Government against State Governments. There is partiality in distributing Central aid to different States. The people of the poorer States feel neglected and indulge in terrorism against this discrimination. Now the time has come when we should think of giving economic independence to the States.

Madam Deputy-Chairman, I want to caution the government that if we fail to solve the socio-economic problems of the country immediately, then very soon the country will be disintegrated. We should also pass stringent laws to deal with this problem of terrorism more effectively. Secondly we should deploy Border Security Force extensively on the border areas. The villages on the borders areas should be shifted to other places. Retired soldiers should be provided with lands on these areas.

Thank you.

[उपसभाध्यक्ष (डा० नगेन सैकिया) पीठासीन हुए]

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Mr. Ram Awadhesh, you shall have to conclude within five minutes.

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह: उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, आतंकवाद के बारे में इस सदन में पिछले वर्षों में भी चर्चा हुई है और आगे भी होती रहेगी । मान्यवर, आतंकवाद के दो मुख्य कारण हैं । एक तो राजनैतिक कारणों से आतंकवाद फैलता है और दूसरा आर्थिक कारणों से आतंकवाद फैलता है । जहां तक देश के अंदर राजनैतिक कारणों का प्रश्न है, वह एक अलग श्रेणी के है लेकिन जो बाहरी शक्तियों के हस्तक्षेप से देश के अंदर आतंकवादी गतिविधियों में तेजी लायी जाती है, इसका एक दूसरा मतलब होता है । महोदय, अपने देश में, खासकर भारत में आतंकवाद जो अभी फैल रहा है, उसके भी दो कारण हैं । एक तो अंतरराष्ट्रीय कारण है और सामंतवादी शक्तियों द्वारा इसे प्रोत्साहन दिया जा रहा है और देश के अंदर जो ऐसी ताकतें हैं वे इन सामंतवादी और पूंजीशाही ताकतों के मेल से देश के अंदर आतंकवाद को फैलाते हैं । मान्यवर, यह सरकार, जो दिल्ली की गद्दी पर बैठी है वह अहिंसक संघर्ष की कोख से पैदा हुई है । लेकिन इस अहिंसक संघर्ष के कोख से पैदा हुई सरकार ने अहिंसक आंदोलनों को न केवल उपेक्षा की दृष्टि से देखा बल्कि अहिंसक आंदोलनों को दबाने का भी भरसक प्रयास किया । इसका अंजाम है कि आज आम आदमी को यह बात समझ में आने लगी है कि सरकार अहिंसक ढंग से लड़ाई पसंद नहीं करती । जब तक कोई तोड़-फोड़ न हो, जब तक कोई उग्र शक्ति का प्रदर्शन न हो तब तक किसी की जायज मांग को भी सरकार समझती नहीं है । सरकार, दिल्ली की सरकार या प्रांतों की जो सरकारें हैं, ये सभी सरकारें अहिंसक आंदोलन को बिल्कुल उपेक्षा की निगाह से देखती हैं । एक भी एक कारण है जिसकी वजह से आम आदमी को विश्वास होने लगा है कि अब अहिंसक लड़ाई का कोई

[श्री राम अवधेश सिंह]

मतलब नहीं है । इसलिए हिंसक लड़ाई की ओर आम तौर से लोगों का ध्यान जाता है । मैं नक्सलवादी आंदोलन के बारे में आपसे कहना चाहता हूं कि इसका रूट कहां है, कहां-कहां इसकी जड़ें फैल रही हैं । जहां-जहां सामंतवादी दबाव और शोषण ज्यादा था वहीं पर इसकी जड़ें फैल रही हैं । बिहार में जिस हिस्से में सब से ज्यादा सामाजिक शोषण था, सामाजिक उत्पीड़न था और साथ-साथ जहां कमेरे वर्ग और खेतिहर मजदूरों को भरपेट खाना दोनों समय नहीं मिलता था, दिन भर पसीना बहाते थे और रात में चूल्हा नहीं जलता था वहां पर यह नक्सलवाद फैल रहा है । एक तो आर्थिक कारण यह है और दूसरा सामाजिक कारण है कि वह स्वाभिमान से अपने घरों में खाट पर भी नहीं बैठ सकते थे । उनकी बहू-बेटियों की इज्जत लूटी जाती थी । यहां तक कि उनको मतदान भी नहीं करने दिया जाता था, वोट नहीं डालने दिया जाता था । जब कोई केस थाने में ले जाता था तो थाने वाले उसका केस दर्ज भी नहीं करते थे (**समय की घंटी**) अगर कोई केस दर्ज हो भी जाता था तो उसकी सुनवाई होने में कोर्ट में कई वर्ष लग जाते थे । कोर्ट से भी उनको न्याय नहीं मिलता था । तब उनके मन से यह नारा निकला जो उनकी पीड़ा की उपज थी कि वोट भी नहीं देने दिया जाता, कोर्ट में भी न्याय नहीं मिलता है । तब उन्होंने एक नारा निकाला—वोट, कोर्ट—मुर्दाबाद । वोट की सरकार नहीं चाहिये और ऐसा कोर्ट नहीं चाहिये जो सामंतवादियों के कब्जे में है । इसलिए हमारे यहां आतंकवादी गतिविधियां बढ़ी और राजनैतिक तौर पर ऐसे संगठन खड़े हुए जो आतंकवादी हरकतों में और आतंकवादी तरीकों से सत्ता परिवर्तन में विश्वास करते हैं । मान्यवर, दूसरा जो कारण है, आर्थिक है। जो अंतरराष्ट्रीय कारण है, उसकी ओर भी ध्यान जाना चाहिये इस सरकार का भी और राज्य सरकारों को भी उस ओर ध्यान देना चाहिये । बाहरी ताकतें चाहती हैं कि देश के अन्दर जो साम्प्रदायिक लोग हैं उनको पकड़ें और उनके जरिये छोटे-छोटे उद्देश्यों के लिए खड़ा कर के देश में अस्थिरता पैदा करें, अराजकता पैदा करें । उनके लिए वह सारे प्रिय हैं चाहे वह राजनैतिक कारणों से लड़ रहे हों, चाहे धार्मिक कारणों से लड़ रहे हों और चाहे सामाजिक कारणों से आतंकवादी तरीके अपना रहे हों । वह सब को पकड़ते हैं । विदेशी ताकतें और विदेशी लोग इस देश को आर्थिक रूप से और राजनैतिक रूप से अस्थिर करना चाहते हैं और अराजकता फैलाना चाहते हैं (**समय की घंटी**) यह अपने पांव फैलाने के लिए सहायता करते हैं इसलिए मान्यवर मैं इस सदन के जरिये सरकार से यह कहना चाहता हूं कि इन दो कारणों की ओर ध्यान दें जो इनके बस की बात है । अंतर्राष्ट्रीय कारणों पर इनका बस नहीं है लेकिन जहां तक देश के अन्दर इनका बस चल सकता है और जहां तक यह कंट्रोल कर सकते हैं वहां पर यह अहिंसक संघर्ष और आन्दोलन को प्रतिष्ठित करें । जब तक अहिंसक आन्दोलन को प्रतिष्ठा यह सरकार नहीं देगी और अहिंसक ढंग से लड़ने वालों को आदर नहीं देगी तब तक यहां आतंकवादी गतिविधियां बढ़ेंगी क्योंकि उसी में आम आदमी का विश्वास होगा कि जब तक तोड़-फोड़ की कार्यवाहियां नहीं करेंगे तब तक कोई सुनने वाला नहीं है । इसलिए सरकार को एक बात मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि अहिंसक आन्दोलन की कोख से पैदा हुई सरकार को अहिंसक आन्दोलन को प्रतिष्ठा देनी चाहिये । इसलिए जब तक सरकार यह नहीं करेगी (**व्यवधान**)

श्री शारदा महन्ती : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, राम अवधेश जी बोल रहे हैं लेकिन टी०वी० में राम नरेश यादव जी का नाम आ रहा है । (**व्यवधान**)

श्रीमती मीरा दास (उड़ीसा) : यह बहुत बड़ा अन्याय है । (**व्यवधान**)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): What is your point of order, Mr. Sen?

SHRI ASHIS SEN (West Bengal): A little earlier we have seen the manner in which Mr. Ram Awadhesh Singh was dealt with Chair. We have seen in evidence the manner in when he has been deal with. Now, we have seen in the TV also

how he has been dealt with (*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Kindly sit down. (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI ASHIS SEN: Why has he to be singled out in this manner ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Kindly sit down. It is not the proceedings of the House. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI ASHIS SEN I am speaking to the Chair. (*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): You have drawn the attention. It is okay. (*Interruptions*) ..

SHRI ASHIS SEN: I don't want to be told anything by you. Let the Chair say what he wants. (*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Kindly sit down. Prof. Saurin Bhattacharya.

PROF. SAURIN BHATTACHARYA (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, after a long session and at long last terrorism. Terrorism which has been continuin this*..(*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): You can also fight with terrorism for five minutes.

PROF. SAURIN BHATTACHARYA: I will try my best. But it will be a very lightning action which you may not like. Therefore, the question of terrorism is a vrey old one. My leader, Mr. Tridip Chowdhury, who had been in the peak of revolutionary movement for a long time, suffered imprisonment for more than 13 years. But in their case, if the British Government had tried to brand them as terrorists, they would have refuted it with indignation. It is not a fact that there was no terrorism, indeed there was. In the second half of the 19th centure in Pune there was a murder case and we knew the Japhekar brothers. who were hanged on the charge thereof, and Balagangadhar Tilak, who was imprisoned for six years, were praised for their patriotism. But it is strange that in the history of our national struggle, perhaps, terrrorism was over by 1910. 'Terrorism' means by generating terror in the hearts of those who oppressed us we will be able to secure their overthrow. With Gandhiji there was a great difference, as a revolutionary, on the mode or achieving independence—whether it is non-violent or violent. On the question of terrorism when Gandhiji came on the Indian political scene there were no difficulties. The question of violence and non-violence was linked. The present pace of terrorism in post-independent India is a very complex phenomenon. My previous speaker, Shri Ram Awadhesh Singh, stated how in Bihar the areas where the oppression over the peasants is the most acute have suffered by violent movements —not always terrorism. In Kalinga during the Naxalite period in West Bengal---I had my personal experience---we heard of encounters. fake encounters. Fake encounters by police, by military and para-military forces have been very common Perhaps, it was for the first time that India witnessed it on a large-scale in the post-independence period, what is known as 'Naxalite period'. Under the then Chief Minister of West Bengal---since he is not here, I don't want to name him; everybody knows him---there was a reign of terror and I had to be involved in protest against those modalities repeatedly. We know that there is terrorism in Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir, Assam, Andhra Pradesh and perhaps in different parts of India. The question is, it is wrong method.

1.00 P.M. Terrorism has achieved nothing. But terrorism is a product of organised violence, organised gangsterism of the State authorities. You know of the picture of the police. the U.P. police as the most organised gangster in our country. That applies more or less to the entire police force in our country till today. There is no doubt about it. We know of the allegations against the army. Our Home Minister remarked that I cannot say anything about the army because they are out for an action. For an action, there might be excesses. The lesson of the history is these excesses led to certain things which may not be rational but which may be natural. This aspect has to be looked into while dealing with the question of terrorism. the question of foreign hand. If there is nothing at the ground level in our own coun-

*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

[Shri Sourin Bhattacharya]

try, how can the foreign hand come? There are many foreign hands to destabilise. We know of the USA who was the patron of Pakistan or other countries. We should name that they tried to have a hand in terrorism in order to destabilise our country. If we take care of the ground situation, in that case the foreign power, the foreign hand would not be able to score a single point. But the pity is all the rulers of the world in all nations have thought that they are one omnipotent and omniscient. Therefore, their omnipotence and omniscience cannot be questioned by anybody. Out of that theory of infallibility comes the procedure of committing atrocities which in turn bring about the activities of terrorism and other things. As an instrument of social change terrorism is worthless. But as a reaction terrorism may be found all over the country. It is found in UK, between UK and Ireland. It is found in many African countries. It is found in Palestine. It is found in Israel also. It is found in Lebnon. Israel terrorism against the Palestine population is there. Therefore, our rulers should guide their policy in a manner so that there is no encouragement to terrorism. Terrorists must acknowledge the fact that it cannot be..(*Time bell rings*)...and we should recognise that if we can take care of our ground realities, no foreign hand will be able to destabilise our country with terrorists or extremists or whatever we call others.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Shri Narayan Kar. You have got only one minute to speak. I shall permit you to take two minutes. The time of your party is already over. Now only one minute is there. Kindly conclude within two minutes.

SHRI NARAYAN KAR (Tripura): Kindly permit to speak in Bengali *Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, kindly permit me to speak in Bengali. An hon. Member from my party has already spoken on terrorism and other subversive activities encouraged by outside powers. The hon. Member from my party has already said about terrorist activities being encouraged by Imperialist Powers, particularly the U.S.A. in Punjab, Kashmir and Tamil Nadu and how those activities are likely to endanger the integrity and the sovereignty of our country. I shall confine my reservations about terrorism and subversive activities mainly to Tripura. Seven North-Eastern States including Tripura are affected by terrorist activities. What are the reasons therefor? Why has Tripura become a victim of so much terrorism? What is the reason behind it? Among all the North-Eastern States. Tripura is the most backward State socially and economically. The political parties which have been ruling at the Centre for the last forty-four years never tried to solve the social and economic problems of the trbals. The Governments at the Centre have always told us that they have been making efforts to bring the tribals to the national mainstream. But they have given false promises to the tribals. In reality they have done nothing to bring the tribals to the national main stream.

Who is responsible for giving birth to terrorism in Tripura who created Tripura National Volunteer for it. It is already known to the hon. Home Minister that the educated sections among the tribals gave birth to TNV in Tripura. A section of Christian Missionaries under the encouragement of imperialist powers took advantage of the economic and social backwardness of the tribals and worked among the educated sections. Consequently, TNV was born in Tripura. This terrorist outfit is responsible for murdering 1400 persons and burning 4000 houses when the Left Front government was in power in Tripura in 1980. About the linkage of the ten Central Government with TNV, I would like to quote one line from a letter to Congress leader of the Mizoram. Shri Lalthawals from TNV President, Shri Bijay Ranjhal who demanded 'Independent Tripura' from outside our country: "Immediately dissolve CPM-led Ministry in Tripura. Declare cease-fire on both sides." It is well-known to the hon. Home Minister that the TNV was used to remove the Left Front Government in Tripura from power. The Central Government entered into an Accord with TNV on the 12th August, 1988. That Accord has not yet been fully implemented and, as

*English translation of the original speech delivered in Bengali.

a result, the terrorist activities still continue in Tripura. We supported that Accord. We want that that Accord should be implemented fully. On the 11th December this year TNV terrorists attacked a Police outpost in South Tripura and looted all guns and ammunition from there after murdering a constable. The State Government could not do anything about it. Last month BSF arrested eighty terrorists who were armed with foreign-made sophisticated weapons. BSF handed over these eighty terrorists to Tripura Police. But under the directions of the Tripura Government at the instance of the State Chief Minister these eighty terrorists were set free by the Tripura Police. It shows that the Central Government is not interested to contain terrorism in the country. They rather want to utilise terrorists to suppress the Local Opposition Political Parties. This way, terrorist activities go on in Tripura.

Yesterday I got the information that the government of Tripura was again trying to declare Tripura as 'Disturbed Area'. The government of Tripura is also trying to deploy the jawans of Assam Rifles in tribal villages again. We strongly protest against such efforts of the government of Tripura.

We know what happened in Assam after the deployment of army. We have the experience in Vjan Maidan. Terrorism cannot be controlled by the deployment of Army. We shall have to solve the root cause of terrorism. We shall have to identify the main reasons of terrorism in Tripura. Unless we stop the influx of refugees into Tripura from Bangladesh and unless we safeguard the interests of Autonomous District Council in Tripura, we cannot suppress terrorism in that State. We shall have to solve the problems of tribals through dialogue. Administrative and military actions should be taken after the failure of dialogues. So the Central Government should be sincere in holding talks with the tribals to solve their problems. But, unfortunately, the Central Government and the State Government of Tripura do not have sincerity to hold talks with the tribals in Tripura to solve their problems. They are rather using the terrorists to suppress the Opposition Political Parties in the State. I can narrate many facts to support my observation. They are already known to the Hon. Home Minister. I shall not narrate them for want of time.

I would request the Hon. Home Minister to instruct the State Government of Tripura not to use the terrorists against the Opposition Political Parties. I would also request the Hon. Home Minister to make sincere efforts to bring the tribals of Tripura to the national main stream.

Thank you.

SHRI BHADRESWAR BURAGOHAIN (Assam): Sir, I have been waiting for the last 4 days to speak on this subject... (*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): After waiting for four days you will be given only 4 minutes to complete your speech... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI BHADRESWAR BURAGOHAIN: Sir, to my mind one factor is not discussed on the subject on the floor of the House; the root cause of terrorism in this country and without going into the root-cause, we cannot find a solution. There may be some factor that is leading to terrorism in every region and it is these factors that is compelling the youths to take to arms. My first submission is that Delhi is the root cause of terrorism. The political barons sitting in the administrative citadels have no time to visit the affected places. The successive Governments, be it the Congress, the Janata Dal, or the SJP, no important Central Ministers have visited these areas. Rather, the political barons in Delhi are wasting their valuable time by inaugurating certain dry conferences, dog shows, flower shows, package conferences etc. They are wasting their time. Even a newspaper reported that one Central Minister went to inaugurate a Dhobi Ghat in Delhi. They are busy in Delhi and neglecting these areas. I think that they should take it seriously that we do not feel isolated here. The people of up-country are always neglecting us. The people coming from far away States like Assam or nearby are treated as second class citizens. My request is that the Government should see that no one feels isolated in Delhi. There is one

[Shri Bhadreswar Buragohain]

simple example. When the Chinese Premier came to India, we all welcomed him. But what happened to a certain section of the society? Most of the students of the tribal areas were arrested on the plea that they were Tibetans. They were not allowed to go to their schools and colleges. This is the state of affairs in Delhi. This is how our people are being treated in Delhi. You know that Assam chequered history. Facts are always facts. We cannot deny them. Since Independence, we have been ill-treated by Delhi. You know—you are a litterateur. In 1947, we had to cede to East Pakistan one portion the Sylhet District, now Bangladesh. Even after four years of Independence, that is in 1951 Assam had to concede one portion of north Kamrup District and a portion of Dewangiri to Bhutan. This is our history of emasculation by the Centre. Even within the Indian Union, several States have been carved out of Assam. Arunachal Pradesh was born Meghalaya was born. Mizoram was born and Nagaland was born. All the constitutional experiments were made only in Assam. But you dare not divide Uttar Pradesh or Bihar or any big state and that is why they still remain intact, what happened in October, 1962? Bomodila fell due to the Chinese aggression Jawaharlal Nehru bade goodbye to Assam with the words, "My heart goes with the people of Assam". At that time, Mr. Bimala Prasad Chaliha was the Chief Minister of Assam and was here in Delhi. He came to enquire about the developments from Mr. Shastri. Shastri retorted to Mr. Chaliha, "Don't mind. We will take you back within five years". This was the behaviour of the Central leaders. The idealistic sections of the youth and the seniors may be deseparate. My point is that there is no one to discuss the problems of the terrorists. I repeat again the bureaucratic barons, the IAS and the IPS officers, are not dealling with the subject seriously. Rather they are busy going to the West so that they can have additional knowledge and experience in dealing with the terrorists problem. They are always scheming how to visit foreign countries although they don't get even preliminary knowledge or sophisticated knowledge from the western countries required to deal with our problems and the knowledge they acquire from the West is not applicable in India. Our own methods, which should be applied here. My submission to the Government is I don't blame the Home Ministry. I don't blame mean the Minister, I mean the Ministry. Take some smart officers into the Ministry, take some competentofficers who can deliver the goods so that the entire terrorist problem can be solved in India. There should be a rational approach. Mere sending the army will not be enough. Army is not the answer. It is not army problem. It will be counterproductive. What is happening in Assam now ? What is happening to Upper Assam? The army enter the houses sometimes in uniform and sometimes in civilian dress and threaten the families and take away their money on the plea that the money is extorted money. In a well-to-do family it is not impossible or uncommon to find Rs. 25,000 or Rs. 30,000 or Rs. 50,000 or so.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI M. M. JACOB): On a point of order. It may not be fair for this House to make an allegation against the Indian army that they are taking away money from the houses.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): It is his opinion.

SHRI BHADRESWAR BURAGOHAIN: When the army was deployed in Assam on 14th September I raised this matter that it was very bad for the national army to be deployed for such a duty, that they may be demoralised, they should not be employed for dealing with the internal affairs of the country and that they were not trained for that purpose. If the interpretation of the honourable Minister of State for Home Affairs, if his message, goes to the army quarters, they will think that "we can go on a rampage, we can commit excesses, we can commit rape; we can commit dacoity or anything like that on the plea that they cannot be criticised anywhery". This is the state of affairs in Assam. Everyone in Assam is scared of the army. Everybody is keeping his money, his legal money, in somebody else's house for fear that otherwise the money may be snatched away by the army.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): If you have any information, any other point, you can pass it on to the Home Minister so that he can look into it.

SHRI BHADRESWAR BURAGOHAIN: I had written many letters to many Ministers on so many matters but no response from anyone. This is the platform where I can raise these matters and the message must go to my people that I have raised these matters in the national Parliament. This kind of atrocities should be stopped. We should not feel alienated that we are not Indians, we are better Indians but we are not treated as Indians. We are better Indians than others. We know the history of India. We should not feel shy here. The Central Government should take note of it and adopt a rational approach so that this problem can be sorted out; there should be a deep thinking. Again I say the bureaucratic barons in the Home Ministry should realise the facts, should understand what kind of turmoils in Assam and elsewhere now. I will end by submitting one word, and quoting an Italian proverb: "Terrorism was not born yesterday nor will it die tomorrow" longer it allows to remain and grow, wider and deeper is root will be.

Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Yes, Mr. Ashwani Kumar, you wanted to make some points. Please be brief.

SHRI ASHWANI KUMAR: Thank you very much for giving me permission.

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, शून्यकाल में मेरे कुछ सहयोगी मित्रों ने यह आरोप लगाया कि उत्तर प्रदेश की भारतीय जनता पार्टी की सरकार वहां जो आतंकवाद है उसका सामना करने में, जो दो तीन घटनाएं हुई हैं उसके कारण, अक्षम हैं और इसलिए उसको डिसमिस करना चाहिए । मेरी पार्टी की सरकार पर आरोप है, इसलिए मैंने उत्तर देने के लिए ही समय मांगा था ।... (**व्यवधान**)...

श्री राम नरेश यादव : (उत्तर प्रदेश) : इसमें भी संदेह है कोई ?

श्रीमती कमला सिन्हा : (बिहार) : "टाडा" पर बोल रहे हैं या उत्तर प्रदेश की सरकार पर बोल रहे हैं ?

श्री अश्विनी कुमार : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी से पूछ लीजिए आप ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मेरा इतना ही निवेदन है कि पंजाब में पिछले 10 साल से आतंकवाद चल रहा है, पिछले 5 साल में कश्मीर में चल रहा है और अधिकांश समय वहां पर राष्ट्रपति का शासन रहा है । आज भी पंजाब में राष्ट्रपति शासन है, अर्थात केन्द्र के गृह मंत्री और प्रधानमंत्री उसके लिए जिम्मेदार हैं । प्रतिदिन जितनी घटनाएं हो रही हैं, वे दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण हैं और अगर दलगत आधार पर हम नरसिंह राव जी से और जैकब साहब से इस्तीफा मांगेंगे तो कितना उचित होगा, यह मेरे भाई राम नरेश यादव जी सोच लें । मैं इतना ही निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि पंजाब की समस्या का निदान करने के लिए हम ने और हमारी पार्टी ने बहुत दिनों पहले से कहा था कि बॉर्डर सील करना चाहिए और वहां सेना भेजनी चाहिए । "आपरेशन रक्षक" के अंदर आपने उसको केन्द्र सरकार से सिफारिश की । आज तुलनात्मक दृष्टि से पंजाब में कुछ व्यवस्था आ रही है । परन्तु यह एक सोचने का विषय था कि इतने बड़े केन्द्र के शासनकर्ता को यह ध्यान में आना चाहिए था, मिनिस्ट्री को ध्यान में आना चाहिए था, होम मिनिस्ट्री को ध्यान में आना चाहिए था कि जब पंजाब में हम, उनको पकड़ेंगे तो राजस्थान, हरियाणा दिल्ली, उत्तर प्रदेश आदि में और उत्तर प्रदेश के पीलीभीत इलाके में, जहां पहले से पता है कि वहां आतंकवादियों के कुछ गढ़ बने हुए हैं, वहां वे जाएंगे इन राज्यों को कांफिडेंस में नहीं लिया गया, न इनके बॉर्डर सील किए गए । आज वह समस्या ओवर-फ्लो करके एक जगह से हटकर दूसरी जगह आई है । दिल्ली में कितनी दुर्घटनाएं पिछले सालों में हुई हैं, मैं वर्णन नहीं करना चाहता, यह दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण है । मैंने इस समस्या को एक प्रदेश की समस्या नहीं माना है और न हमारी पार्टी ने माना है । पंजाब को और कश्मीर की समस्या को भी हमने सारे देश की समस्या माना है और आतंकवाद भी सारे देश की समस्या है और इसके लिए दो प्रकार के साधनों की आवश्यकता है और वह सबको मिलकर

[श्री अश्विनी कुमार]

करना चाहिए । बहुत सारे हथियार चाहिए । आतंकवादियों के पास आधुनिकतम ए०के० 47 और उससे भी बड़े हथियार हैं । मेरी जहां तक जानकारी है, हरियाणा में आज मात्र हरियाणा पुलिस के पास 50 ए०के० 47 राइफल्स हैं और उत्तर प्रदेश पुलिस के पास मात्र 70 ए०के० 47 राइफल्स हैं और मुख्य मंत्री ने पत्र लिखा है केन्द्र सरकार को कि हमको तुरंत एक महीने के अंदर 583 ए०के० 47 दी जाए । इतना ही नहीं, इसका एकनॉलेजमेंट नहीं है और न केन्द्र की ओर से कोई उत्तर दिया गया है ।

पिछले दिनों यहां चर्चा हुई, एक हमारे माननीय सदस्य ने पूछा कि जहां आतंकवाद चल रहा है, वहां की सरकारों को अगर केन्द्र हथियार मुहैया नहीं करा सकता तो वह राज्य सरकारों को आधुनिकतम हथियार लाने की अनुमति दे । तो हमारे माननीय गृह मंत्री श्री जेकब साहब ने कहा कि यह अनुमति हम नहीं दे सकते हैं, हम मंगाकर देंगे । जब यह दायित्व उन्होंने अपने ऊपर ले लिया है तो यह उनका दायित्व है कि जो मांग उन प्रदेशों से आए उसको वे शीघ्रातिशीघ्र पूरा करें । उत्तर प्रदेश के संबंध में मुझे इतना कहना है कि वहां के मुख्य मंत्री ने 30 कम्पनियां बी०एस०एफ० की और 10 सी० आर०पी०एफ० की मांगी थीं, आज तक उनकी आपूर्ति तराई के लिए नहीं हुई है । दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण यह है कि हां तो आपूर्ति नहीं हुई परन्तु अयोध्या में वे जरूर भेज दी गई थीं । वे क्यों भेजी गई थी, मुझे यह कहना नहीं है, जयह एक भिन्न प्रश्न है । ...(व्यवधान)...मुझे बोलने दीजिए, उस समय भाजपा आपने मुझे बोलने नहीं दिया ।...(व्यवधान)...

डा. रत्नाकर पाण्डेय (उत्तर प्रदेश): प्रेम से बोलिए न वह बात ।

श्री अश्विनी कुमार: मैं प्रेम से ही बोल रहा हूं । मेरा आपसे इतना ही निवेदन है कि जो मांगे उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार, हरियाणा सरकार और भिन्न-भिन्न सरकारें कर रही हैं स्त्रारवों के लिए, उन्हें वे केन्द्र सरकार को तुरन्त देने चाहिए । दूसरा, उत्तर प्रदेश के बहुत सारे फोर्सेज केन्द्र ने रिक्वीजिशन कर रखे हैं, वह भी वापिस जायें और मेरा निवेदन होगा कि केन्द्र सरकार राजस्थान, हरियाणा, पंजाब दिल्ली और उत्तर प्रदेश प्रशासन के जो अधिकारी हैं उनको बुलाकर इस सारे आतंकवाद की एक जोइंट स्ट्रेटेजी के ऊपर काम करने के लिये आये । दूसरा प्रश्न यह है कि, यह जो टैरोरिस्ट हैं, जहां भी एक बार टाईट किये जायेंगे, क्योंकि पाकिस्तान से इनकी ट्रैनिंग होती है, केन्द्र सरकार का यह विषय है । केन्द्र सरकार, रोज पाकिस्तान पर आरोप लगाती है आज तक पिछले 10 वर्षों में हम पाकिस्तान के खिलाफ विरोध-पत्र या विरोध जताने के सिवाय कोई कदम नहीं उठा सके है, फिर भी उनके साथ सब प्रकार के व्यवहार रखते हैं । इस कारण भी इसके परिणाम गलत हो रहा है । इसके ऊपर केन्द्र को सोचना पड़ेगा, कोई राज्य सरकार इसको सोच नहीं सकती और यह उनका विषय नहीं है ।

अन्त में, मैं कहना चाहूंगा जैसा कि मेरे मित्रों ने कुछ कहा कि आतंकवाद तब पैदा होता है जब देश के अलग-अलग भाग अलग-अलग सोचने लगते हैं । सिख बन्धुओं के अन्दर यह भाव पैदा किया गया कि तुम इस देश के द्वितीय नागरिक हो, कश्मीर के अन्दर यह भाव पैदा किया गया कि नय द्वितीय नागरिक हो और आसाम के मेरे मित्र बोल रहे थे, उसमें से उनकी बहुत सी बातें सही हैं, बहुत सी से मैं सहमत नहीं हूं । पर वहां भी यह सवाल है कि हम पर दिल्ली ध्यान नहीं देती है । यह जो ध्यान न देने का विषय है, यह बड़ा महत्वपूर्ण है । आज तक देश की जितनी प्रगति होनी चाहिये थी, नहीं हुई है । परन्तु उसको आतंकवाद के रूप में ले जाने के लिए एक अलग प्रचार का प्रचार, विस्तार और उसके पीछे एक आइडियोलोजिकल स्ट्रगल उसमें लाया जाता है, जैसा कि पंजाब और कश्मीर में लोगों को यह समझाने में पाकिस्तान सफल हो गया है कि तुम भारत के भाग नहीं हो, तुम एक अलग आयडेंटिटी हो, अलग साइकी हो । मेरा आपसे निवेदन है कि इस साइकी को रोकने के लिये भारत एक है, हम सब भारत के एक हैं । इस एकता का जब तक हम विचार नहीं करेंगे

तब तक यह नहीं होगा और आज मेरे किसी मित्र ने कहा कि हमारी पार्टी ने एकता यात्रा ली है, इसके ऊपर आपत्ति हैं । हम तो सब की एकता चाहते हैं और इस एकता यात्रा के द्वारा पार्टी का कोई काम नहीं कर रहे हैं । कश्मीर में सार्वजनिक रूप से तिरंगा झंडा फहराया जायेगा, जहां सार्वजनिक रूप से पिछले चार साल से तिरंगा नहीं फहराया गया । अगर उसको फहराना देश के अंदर द्वेष पैदा करना है तो देश की एकता के लिये क्या हो सकता है, तो यह मैं अपने माननीय मित्रों से जानना चाहूंगा ? हमारी जितनी छोटी समझ है, हमने तो एकता के प्रतीक तिरंगे झंडे को कश्मीर में फहराने का स्वप्न लिया है । मैं इसके लिये अपने मित्रों से चाहूंगा कि वे सहयोग करें, आयें और वहां चलकर कार्य करें और उसी के द्वारा ही यह हमारा आतंकवाद से लड़ने का नारा है, किसी और से लड़ने का नारा नहीं है... (व्यवधान)

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): If anybody stands up and speaks without my permission, if it is not going on record. I am very much strict in this case. (*Interruptions*)

DR. RATNAKAR PANDEY:

SHRI RAM NARESH YADAV:* (*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): I have identified Shri Satya Prakasha Malaviya.

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA (Uttar Pradesh): The Major bomb blast occurred in U.P. on October 17. in which about 41 people were killed. There three other such incidents and till date about 200 persons have been killed by the terrorists in Terai area.

Now, I have got a Note by the U.P. Chief Minister submitted to the Prime Minister on 16th December 1991. I would like to read only three or four lines from this and I would like Mr. Jacob to clarify these points in his reply. The U.P. Chief Minister says:

> "Recently they have resorted to murderous attacks on policemen and bomb blasts with sophisticated explosives."

Further he says:

> "With the deployment of Army in Punjab it is expected that terrorist activities in the State are going to increase considerably."

And he is very much apprehensive that these terrorist activities are going to increase considerably in Uttar Pradesh. Last portion:

> "The State Government has prepared an elborate scheme to combat this menace. This scheme involves strengthening of Police stations in Terai area, providing modern wapons and communication equipments to the Police in that area and creation of a Task Force specially designed to combat terrorism."

There are two more demands which are submitted by Mr. Ashwani Kumar.

I would like Mr. Jacob to clarify these in this reply.

श्री राम नरेश यादव : महोदय, माननीय अश्विनी कुमार जी, ने इस बात चर्चा की कि हम तो एकता चाहते हैं और एकता के लिए ही सब काम कर रहे हैं, एकता यात्रा भी कर रहे हैं । मैं बहुत स्पष्ट रूप से कहना चाहता हूं कि आप हमारे प्रदेश में नहीं बल्कि देश के अंदर सांप्रदायिकता का विषैला जहर फैलाने जा रहे हैं । उसकी जिम्मेदारी भारतीय जनता पार्टी पर है जो एकता यात्रा के नाम पर इस देश को विखंडित करना चाहती है ... (व्यवधान) अभी आपने कहा कि केंद्रीय सरकार से, प्रदेश की सरकार ने सेना नहीं मांग थी लेकिन उन्होंने भेज दी थी । महोदय, मैं बहुत स्पष्ट रूप से कहना चाहता हूं कि इस बात में कोई आधार नहीं है, यह निराधार

*Not recorded.

श्री रामनरेश यादव

है क्योंकि प्रदेश की सरकार ने मांग की थी कि हमें अयोध्या के लिए भी केंद्रीय सेवा बल की जरूरत है और जब केंद्रीय सेवा बल वहां पर भेज दिया गया तो प्रदेश की सरकार ने उसका इस्तेमाल नहीं किया और अयोध्या में जो दो कंपनियां लगी हुई थीं, उनको भी वापस कर दिया। पहले तो ये सावल खडा कर हैं कि उत्तर प्रदेश का मामला है और केंद्रीय सरकार सहायता नहीं कर रही है और जब केंद्रीय सरकार सहायता करती है तो प्रदेश की सरकार, जो भारतीय जनता पार्टी की सरकार है, इन तथ्यों को सही ढंग से नहीं लेती और यही कारण है कि तराई का इलाका आज बुरी तरह से आतकवादियों का शिकार हो रहा है। इसकी जिम्मेदारी प्रदेश सरकार पर है। मैं जानता हूं कि केंद्रीय सरकार को भी गंभीरता के साथ इस पर विचार करना चाहिए और विचार करके इसका हल निकालना चाहिए और प्रदेश सरकार की सहायता करनी चाहिए।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): You made your point. Kindly sit down.

श्री राम नरेश यादव: लेकिन इसके साथ-साथ प्रदेश की सरकार आतंकवाद को रोकने में विफल रही है। इसलिए मैं कहता हूं कि उन्हें सत्ता में रहने का कोई अधिकार नहीं है, यह मैं आपके माध्यम से कहना चाहता हूं। ऐसी सरकार को बरखास्त ... (*व्यवधान*)

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : (उत्तर प्रदेश) : अगर दम है तो हटा दो उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार को।

श्री राम नरेश यादव: अगर हिम्मत है तो आतंकवाद का मुकाबला क्यों नहीं करते ?

डा. रत्नाकर पाण्डेय: अभी अश्विनी कुमार जी ने जो कहा ... (*व्यवधान*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Now, Dr. Ratnakar Pandey.. You have to make your point in brief. (*Inteerruptions*)

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : पहले वहां कांग्रेस की सरकार थी। जनता दल की सरकार थी क्या किया आपने ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Kindly sit down. I have already given my ruling that if anybody stands up without my permission and starts speaking, that is not going on record, whoever he may be.

श्री जगदीश साद माथुर : हरियाणा

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज :

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Dr. Ratnakar Pandey. what is your point? I am not allowing you to make a speech. You have to make only your points.

श्री रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : माननीय सभापति जी, मैं रिएक्ट कर रहा हूं। माननीय अश्विनी कूमार जी ने जो कुछ कहा है, एकता यात्रा के नाम पर इस देश को तोडने की कोशिश हो रही है और कोशिश इसलिए की जा रही है कि मेरा स्पष्ट मत है और 6 महीने के बाद पूरी गवर्नमेंट भी कहेगी कि इनके दल ने ओवरसीज बी०जे०पी० बनाया। जितनी भी पार्टीज है भारत में, किसी का ओवरसीज नहीं है लेकिन बी०जे०पी० का ओवरसीज है और विदेशी ताकतों के इशारे पर यह एकता यात्रा हो रही है और यह चाहते हैं कि देशव्यापी दंगा फैले और अल्पसंख्यकों के साथ इस देश में वह व्यवहार किया जाए, इनकी एकता यात्रा के जो नेता हैं जोशी जी, उन्होंने स्पष्ट कहा कि देश में रहना है है तो किसी भी मुसलमान को हिन्दू बनकर रहना पडेगा... (*व्यवधान*)

श्री अश्विनी कुमार : क्या कहा है ? गलत मत बोलिए इस सदन में। जरा जिम्मेदारी से बोलना शुरू कीजिए।

डा. रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : हिन्दुस्तान टाइम्सज में इंटरव्यू दिया है। सदन का रिकार्ड उठाकर देख लीजिए। .... (*व्यवधान*)

श्री अश्विनी कुमार : आप अल्पसंख्यकों के वाम की दुहाई दे रहे हैं ... (*व्यवधान*)

*Not recorded.

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज : आप अप्रासंगिक बात कह रहे हैं ... (**व्यवधान**)

श्रीमती सत्या बहिन (उत्तर प्रदेश): महोदय, ये जो कह रहे हैं... (**व्यवधान**)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Satya Bahin, Why are are you shouting for nothiny. Nothing is going on record. I have given my ruling that if anybody speaks without my permission, it is not going on record. Dr. Pandey, within a minute, you shall have to make your point.

डा. रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : जो यात्रा के नायक हैं उन्होंने स्पष्ट कहा है ... (**व्यवधान**)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): The debate is on growing menace of terrorism and not on communalism.

DR. RATNAKAR PANDEY: Sir, he is interrupting unnecessarily.

उन्होंने हिन्दुस्तान टाइम्स में इंटरव्यू देते हुए स्पष्ट कहा है कि इस देश में मुसलमानों को रहना है तो हिन्दू बनकर रहना होगा । अगर यह झूट है तो मुझे जो सजा देना हो, आप दें ।

उन्होंने जो कहा है कि मस्जिद का जो स्ट्रक्चर है अयोध्या के पास वह एक तरह का झूठा स्ट्रक्चर है, उसके अस्तित्व की जरूरत नहीं है । इन की थैली के चट्टे बट्टे दल जिसमें शिवसैना भी है, उसके हैड ने कहा है कि अगर सरदारों और सिक्खों जो कि हमारे देश की सबसे वीर कम्यूनिटी है, अगर पंजाब में फिर से हम डेमोक्रेसी रेस्टोर कर रहे हैं, तो इनको भडकाने के लिए कहा कि इस देश में सरदारों को रहना है तो क्लीन शेव्ड रहा रहना होगा । उनके जो कच्छ, केश, कृपाण, कंघा, कडा थे जो पांचीजें हैं ये वेदो की तरह पूजनीय हैं ... (**व्यवधान**)

श्री अश्विनी कुमार : किसने कहा है ?

डा. रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : बाल ठाकरे ने कहा है ... (**व्यवधान**)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Don't enter into argument. Dr. Pandey, please conclude and sit down. Discussion is on terrorism, not on communalism. Please confine yourself to the subject.

DR. RATNAKAR PANDEY: I am only reaching to his point.

SHRI ASHIS SEN: I am on a point of order. What is the subject we are discussing? Is it communalism or terrorism?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): I have already pointed it out to him.

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : आडवाणी जी ने अयोध्या में रामेश्वरम से जब की तो इनके दल के नेता वाजपेयी जी कहा था कि अयोध्या से लंका की यात्रा नहीं है, कुछ भी अनहोनी हो सकती है । उसमें सैकडों लोगों की जानें गई । धर्म के नाम पर, सम्प्रदाय के नाम पर इस देश के भोलेभाले लोगों को भडकाकर अमरीका और सी आर०ए० के इशारे पर इनको जो ओवरसीज दल बने उनके इशारों पर यह हो रहा है । ... (**व्यवधान**) मेरी मांग है कि जोशी जी को टाडा के अंतर्गत गिरफ्तार किया जाए ताकि इस देश में फिर से साम्प्रदायिकता की आग न लगे और मासूम बच्चे तड़प-तडपकर जान न दें, निर्दोष अल्पसंख्यक न मारे जायें, सांप्रदायिकता की आंधी न चले । जो फिर देश को टुकडे टुकडे करना चाहते हैं उनके ऊपर कडा एक्शन सरकार ले, यही देश की जनता चाहती है । मेरा निवेदन है कि सरकार संप्रदायवादी तत्वों के खिलाफ कडी कारवाई करे । ... (**व्यवधान**)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): We have now come to the conclusion of the debate. I shall call the Minister to reply.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI (Maharashtra): Sir, I also wanted to speak for a minute only. I am a disciplined Member.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): I shall allow you. Now, before we go to the next item, I want to inform the Members that today it was decided in the morning that we shall skip the lunch hour. Of course, Members are very much free to take their lunch but there will be no lunch break tolay. Yes, Mr. Desai.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: I only want to ask one question. If you wanted to hoist the national flag in Srinagar, that was the necessity of taking the yatra through the whole country? (*Interruptions*). You are provoking the people. I appeal to you. If you want to go to Srinagar on the 26th January, you can do so by all means but don't put this country on fire. This is my appeal. If that was your intention, you could have gone to Srinagar straight. Why do you want to go throughout the country and provoke other communities. I am sorry to say कपोल में तिलक है, मगर बगल में छुरी भी उसकी होती है । यही में कहना चाहता हूं । इति ।

SHRI M. M. JACOB: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am thankful to all the hon. Members who have participated in this discussion. This is a very important subject. In fact, it is one of the major areas of concern for us, where all of us will have to put our heads together to find out how best we can sort out matters and go towards further progress.

Some of the Members who participated emphasised on the theme of the discussion. i.e., the foreign involvement, or, instigation, in relation to terrorist and sub-versive activities in the country with a view to destabilising and weakening India. I am thankful to all the hon. Members. I do not want to refer to them, individually, because twenty-one Members participated in this debate. It may consume more time of yours if I were to answer each and every point raised by hon. Members. But have noted all the points, and I will be able to address them separately, not in letters, but in action; on the major points that have been raised here.

When Members speak on the question of terrorism and the various aspects of terrorism, it is right for the Members from the Opposition, or, even ruling party Members, to criticise the existing scenario in the country. I don not blame them. But Sir, this is not a new phenomenon. If my memory is correct, even in the League of Nations, they adopted a Resolution, in 1936, against terrorism. Then, world leaders, at various fora, sat and discussed how best they could come to a definition of terrorism, because this definition will have to be linked with the modalities of tackling it. One hundred and fifteen definitions were arrived at, up to 1986; 115 definitions on terrorism. Therefore, it is not an isolated phenomenon happening in an area where you can just send half-a-dozen police and stop it. It is something beyond that. Other-wise, all this exercise in the world would not have taken place.

For us, it is a new phenomenon, in a way. In the year 1965, when Mohammed Maqbool Butt inaugurated an outfit in Pakistan, called the JKLF, it was not a visible threat to India. It was inaugurated on the Pakistani soil. They declared that it was for the liberation of Kashmir. In the same year, I happened to go to London. I happened to go to London, from another country. I went across the speakers' corner, where people come and make their speeches. There, were some leaders of this movement. One of them was addressing a public meeting in that speakers' corner where anybody can say anything without any mike, without any loudspeaker, without any platform. It is there in Hyde Park. It is known as the speakers' corner. there, every person has to carry a placard with him, indicating on what subject he is going to speak, indicating what is the topic. In this case, the topic was the liberation of Kashmir. I attended it. I listened to that speech. I remember the way in which he was hurling abuses at India, the way in which he was relying on Pakistan, the way in which he was relying on the Islamic countries, even at that time I remember his speech very well. It is still ringing in my ears. He said 'You Indians must be very careful; we are several countries in the world; we will come and finish you'. This was his last sentence. I still remember. I was a student of international affairs at that time. Therefore, if you analyse, you find that right from then, step by step, stage by stage, the whole concept started

moving. But, fortunately for this country, leaders led by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,— a great person, —relied on the secular concept, relied on the greatness of this country. We sent the message across the world that India was a genuine, reasonably good, democratic, socialist country, which they could trust. Fortunately, the world got the message that India was a country to be depended upon. India is a country to be relied upon, India is an honest, upright and forthright country. They do not want theocracy to rome into India. They are not going to fight the Islamic fundamentalists with Hindu fundamentalism. They are going to take a larger view of the things and that larger view is the secular foundation of this country which is the strength on which our country is surviving today. Otherwise, when somebody deliberately fights with fundamentalist across the borders, when they are backed up by some other forces, do you think our country, where we have to solve hundred and one problems, can survive to the onslaught? It is difficult. So, our strength is in secularism, our strength is our wisdom, our strength is our fellow feeling. Our strength is that we are able to understand the meaning of social justice. I do not want to waste the time of the House by mentioning what happened in Germany, Britain, Israel or Arab countries. They have different methods of their own, but before I come back to the Indian scenario I would like to analyse only one thing that is happening in the international scenario, and that is, terrorism takes place more in Western democratic countries. Forty per cent of the terrorist activities that took place in the world happened in free democratic countries, whereas only 2 per cent of the terrorist activities happened in East European countries, including the Soviet Union. That means, the democratic countries are so benevolent that they do not use repressive methods. They allow exerybody to express opinion and some misguided people take advantage of the freedom available in a democratic country, and try to sabotage the whole thing. The freedom which we give, as a democratic country, is misused by some people, may be, because of their narrow-minded vision or something like that. So, here terrorism is one aspect. Insurgency is another and the left wing extremism is third aspect. These are the three points which hon. Members mentioned in their speeches here. Some were emphasising on the terrorism aspect, some on the insurgency in the North East area and some others were mentioning about Naxalite, left wing extremism.

Sir, here is no time for me to analyse all these things. Still I may be permitted to say that the first part of terrorism, as we understand in India, is mainly in Kashmir and Punjab. If you take Kashmir, as I said, we find an increase in the operations after 1987. It was not there till 1987, but there was a sudden spurt in terrorist activities in 1988 and went on increasing during 1989 and 1990. I am not going to blame Shri V. P. Singh for his Government or others, but the point is that a feeling went across the world that the time was then ripe. India is weaker and weaker now. Let us hit hard. Perhaps we can take Kashmir and walk away. So, they carried this kind of a wrong message that there is not a strong Government, there is not a powerful force here to stop anyone in this kind of terrorist activity.

Unfortunately, the Government changed in Pakistan. I do not want to reveal the involvement of Pakistan in detail before this august House, but I will be failing in my duty if I did not draw your attention to the fact that more than 80 terrorist training camps are existing across the border in Pakistan, in P.O.K. and in Mujahedin - occupied Afghanistan. All the trained terrorists are to some

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to India. Our Prime Minister happened to meet the Prime Minister of Pakistan. Our diplomats happened to meet the diplomats in those countries. We bring to their notice that we hear that these terrorist camps are operating and terrorists are sent across the border. They say, they are not aware of it. They say they will take serious action, if it is there. I thank the Pakistan Government if they have got a good intention like that, but the result has to be seen. If there is a reduction in the terrorist activity in the Kashmir Valley then I would say that Pakistan has succeeded in curbing the terrorist activity. Now, news item that emanate now, even from the people who are arrested and who are cross-examined by our own intelligence agencies or paramilitary forces, reveal the fact that ISI is responsible for instigating this.

Sir, I do not want to involve myself in the internal affairs of Pakistan because it is not correct for our Parliament to look into them--it is not fair also--but, at the same time, is Pakistan Governed by the ISI or the Prime Minister and his political party? If the Prime Minister and the political party of Pakistan have to be taken by their word, then there should not be a terrorist camp in Pakistan at all. But they have no control over the affairs taking place on the other side. The ISI--the secret intelligence agency of Pakistan playing too much, trying even to outmanoeuvre the duly set up Government of that country. It is for them to decide what is going to happen--it is not for me. I am not going to foist allegations against another country, but the moment it is a question of the survival and growth of a country like mine, India--which is supposed to be one of the strongest and powerful nations in the world—we have a responsibility to point out to that country that either they have to mend their ways and control their own people and leave us in peace...Sir, instances are many.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: Or?

SHRI M. M. JACOB: "Or" is reserved. (*Interruptions*)... Sir, the point is, the increased terrorist activity from across the border, from Pakistan, is coming into India, especially into Jammu and Kashmir. But my information is, recently, during the last two, three months...

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: If you would yield, Sir, from the speech of the Home Minister, one gets the impression that this Government is being charitable to the Government of Pakistan and they would like to blame only the ISI. I am rather surprised that this Government is being so native as to believe that the Goverment of Pakistan and the ISI are two different entities.

SHRI M. M. JACOB: I am thankful to you for your intervention in between. This Government is nice to all the countries and we respect all the nations but, at the same time, we point out, at the appropriate level, what is wrong and what is to be done. That is done separately. Sir, I was only trying to point out a contradiction existing in the scenario.

Now, the fortunate part which I would like to say is, during the last two, three months a visible change is seen even in Jammu and Kashmir where the flow of terrorists is getting reduced. That may be because of the increased vigilance on our part or may be because of some other conditions existing on the other side or may be because of the weather. Whatever it is, there is reduced tension in various parts and also, mainly among the so-called Kashmiri population in the Valley, there is a feeling that it is no good, after all, going any longer after the terrorists and their dictates because the shops are closed, the bazars are closed and things are not moving properly.

Now look at it. The Amnesty International comes occasionally. Some of you are very familiar with their operations. They come occasionally and say, "We are not allowed to go to Kashmir. If we could go to Kashmir, we would have found out and told the world what it is." Sir, we are getting letters

almost every day from one member of other of Amnesty International, sitting in Germany or Austria or some other foreign country. Inspired and instigated by somebody else, they come from the United States, they come from many other countries. We receive them, we read them. It is all the same, it is fed by somebody. They are all stereotyped letters. One letter is written by a person from Germany, the same letter is written from America, the same letter comes from Canada. Sir, I read all these letters. That means somebody is organising it, somebody is paying something for it. So, if the Amnesty International is sincere enough even in their attempt, they should have seen the millions of people who are harassed in India because of the terrorist activity. They should have seen to the lives of innocent people being liquidated for nothing. Children and women are dying. Even no medical aid could be given to the people properly because of bandhs and curfew and so on and so forth. I agree with some of the Members that these activities are creating problems to the people, innocent people. But the Amnesty International should point out this aspect and say, "After all, terrorists are also indulging in very harmful activities by killing innocent people." What was the crime committed by a young boy or a young girl or a child in the Kashmir valley? They should also see that aspect.

Sir, now I jump to Punjab. The same situation. The Sikh terrorists are being encouraged by outside forces. To my information, more than 25 terrorists' training camps are exclusively meant for Sikh terrorists across the border. I am subject to correction. This is my information.

SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR (Maharashtra): Correction from where?

SHRI M. M. JACOB: Anybody can correct me. But that is my information.

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR: Not by Pakistan.

SHRI M. M. JACOB: Not to be corrected by Pakistan.

SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR: Correction by whom?

SHRI M. M. JACOB: I don't want to blame the Punjabi Sikh youth. I do not want to blame the Kashmiri youth. It is somebody else deliberately playing upon us by recruiting unemployed people, young people and giving them training, good offers and making them come here with sophisticated arms and armaments. Some newspaper report came here that 220 terrorists crossed the border and brought arms and ammunitions to India. I read that. At one stretch sophisticated arms and ammunitions are coming from various quarters. Maybe Chinese arms are coming to Thailand. Many other countries, they come through. All these are real naked facts happening.

But mentioning that these are happening is not the solution. We have to chalk out very systematically out own action, how we are able to combat it.

If we look at the scenario outside, there are in London, in Canada, in the U.S.A. supposed to be President, Secretary, Vice-President of the Khalistan Government. I do not know, even if Khalistan is given to them immediately how they will sort out, whether the President in London or the President in America will take over the Presidentship of that particular nation which they are aspiring for. That means parallel groups are working in different countries. I am not saying that they are Americans or they are Englishmen. They are people who happen to live in those countries, who are better off in those countries, who made millions of dollars of money in due course. They are collecting, financing and guiding the operations in India.

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR: Are they Indians?

SHRI M. M. JACOB: They are Indians sitting in those countries, collecting money.

The last year I had an opportunity of coming across a copy of a letter which was sent by a Sikh terrorist to another

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Sikh terrorist, pointing out, "Our so and so in Washington succeeded in getting the following resolution passed by the Young Republicans." Young Republicans is ap olitical group under the Republican Party which is the ruling party. He says, "I am glad that our man was able to convince them the necessity of passing this resolution." What is the resolution? It is supporting secessionism and hostility towards India. They passed the resolution. They are not a political party. They are only young people influenced by another young man from a terrorist gang. So, there are people who are systematically meeting the Senators systematically contacting the Congress men. They have established contacts with European parliamentarians.

Sir, what we have to do is not to sit here and to discuss only, but a diplomatic offensive is very important now for India in this way. A media campaign abroad is absolutely essential. I am convinced that the external affairs diplomacy has to be strengthened on this particular aspect. Perhaps our embassies are doing a great service. They are doing very well, very good work. But we have to cope with the concentrated attack of the media campaign and diplomatic aggressiveness on the part of Pakistan. We have to counter it by our counter-offensive

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through our media campaign and through our aggressive publicity abroad. We must maintain links with the Congressmen and the Senators of various democratic countries. We must also maintain links where non-democratic Governments are functioning. We must educate them. We must tell them honestly. There is nothing to hide here. We are an open Government. We must tell them this is happening in our country. You have to accept it. If I go on like this, there are many areas which are to be touched upon. But again you look at the scenario in the North-East-Assam. Sir, you yourself come from Assam. I am very much concerned about what you mentioned in the House the other day. Is it that the ULFA ac- of Assam? Our great leader, Rajiv Gandhi, arrived at the Assam Accord. He even removed a duly elected Congress Government and allowed a free election to take place there and your own party was brought to power there. The Assam Accord was implemented with your own Govtrnment's cooperation at that time. Most of the points were implemented, except one or two of long-standing nature. There also decisions have been taken and implementation is in progress. It neglect is the only reason for this, then the ULFA people would not have come with a second assault. They would have stopped then and here After all, they have got what they wanted It was a neglect. All right. That was taken care of. But, it was not so. They have come again and are again forcing the Army to go there to help the civil administration. I don't agree with my good friend who said that Army is going from house to house, looting and plundering and all that For heaven's sake don't make that kind of an allegation when you don't have an allegation to be substiated by any evidence of reasonable sort or whatever it may be. But at the same time I would say that clear instructions are there that the Army is there to aid the civil administration. In every Army camp there should be a police efficiency outfit. The moment you come across a terrorist. . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Mr. Minister, some Members have alleged that Army acted there in a way not acceptable at all. I would request the Government to look into those allegations.

SHRI M. M. JOCOB: Certainly, Sir. Every allegation is being taken into account. . .

SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRAVARTY (Assam): Kindly allow me.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): You have already spoken.

SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRAVARTY: I am on a point of order.

SHRI M. M. JACOB: The Chair has already said, Madam. Why do you repeat it? And Chair has no party also.

SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRAVARTY: Would you yield for a moment?

SHRI M. M. JACOB: I don't mind yielding to you.

SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRAVARTY: Thank you, Sir, It is a fact that we, Members from Assam, mentioned about the atrocities the Army committed at different times on the floor of both the Houses. Even now we are alleging. We have got documentary evidence. If the hon. Minister wants that and if the hon. Minister permits us to do so, we may hand it over to him so that he may look into it. I again claim that there have been atrocities committed in Assam. There have been rapes by the Army in their three operations. There has been a house-to-house search and there have been killings by the Army.

SHRI M. M. JACOB: O. K. I have heard you. It might happen. I don't say it will never happen. Wherever it happened a prompt action was also taken by the Army. Even about that rape, immediately the person who was alleged to have been involved was sacked and they have proceeded against him. If you can bring cases like that to our potice, we can certainly take them up, but that does not mean that the Indian Army is to be tarnished by just a comment. This is why I said that is unfortunate. They are defending this country. Look at the people who are in that border area. The Army fellows and the para-military forces are making a sacrifice to protect you and me. It is not for the salary alone they are working. They are working to protect our national honour. They are fighting an unpleasant battle to prevent the insurgents coming into India.

Sir, next to Assam, you find the North-Eastern States where during the last two or three years you found a spurt in the insurgent activities, with training camps in Bangladesh and Myanmar because they have a common border. The ethnic differences are practically nil. The people on this side and that side cannot be identified even though we have some kind of mechanism by which you can prevent people coming from outside. You know very well the terrain in the North-Eastern side. Sometimes even if you want to make absolute fool-proof arrangements, there will be some point of gap through which some one can come into this country. So what is worrying me is that Bangladesh and Burma without their knowledge—perhaps, I do not know—have the training camps for the Naga Socialist Council outlifts. They are now trying to establish links with the other North-Eastern States. Manipur and adjacent States to wean away young people who are unemployed. But thank God, it is not on a very large scale. They are within the manageable limits.

Mr. Swell was giving a good analysis about the North-Eastern region scenario.

SHRI G. G. SWELL (Meghalaya): Northern part of India and Southern part of Tamil Nadu.

SHRI M. M. JACOB: Yes, Northern part of India also. He gave a very nice exposition of it. I must be thankful to him for that. I am not repeating many things which you and other Members have said. So scenario is such that you have to be more vigilant in the North-East. You have to be more concerned about the people's necessities and requirements. The grievances of the people will have to be attended to, whether it is.

Recently I had been to the border areas of Punjab. I met a large number of people in the villages. Some of them said : "You don't have to go there." But I said "I will go". Both young and old and various types of people came to me. They had only small things to tell you, their own particular life. The said "We don't have a proper road. Our school is not properly looked after. We don't get medicines properly." These are all normal demands of the people. I told the officers

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that they have to pull up their own people, I told the officers that they have to pulll up their own people; and their grievances have to be redressed. When the people are unemployed, when the people's grievances are not properly redressed, when they feel that their aspirations are not met for leading a normal life, it is bound to create frustration. That frustration is capitalised on by the terrorists and interested parties. They take advantage out of the situation.

Once a friend of mine asked me that there is a lot of national disintegration taking place in India. According to my assessment, the national disintegration of this country can happen only in one thing and that is when you neglect your poor people. If you create two classes of people, your nation will find it difficult to survive. Otherwise religion is not a bar in this country. Everybody knows, the Hindu knows, the Muslim knows we are not killing each other. We only say it for political purposes. Even we protested against "Ekta Yatra" from this side as well as from that side. It is only a political ploy, according to me. They may say that it is meant for unity but it is not. A political party has a right to bring out a procession Okay, they are bringing it out. But what I mean to say is, it is not going to divide India but this is dangerous to India. Whipping up communalism is dangerous to India. But his Whipping up communalist and creating instability is a fertile ground for growth of terrorism and for others to come and take advantage out of it.

One of the speakers was mentioning "Why don't you give smaller States?" I was surprised at his statement. We had 500 or 600 States in this country. I hail from a very Small State. There was a very small State in Keral 500 years ago and we called it. 'Vadakkangu' to which I belong. Later it merged into the bigger State and then into the Indian Union. All of us feel proud that we are a part of the large country. Looking at the Soviet Union and its break-up into various republics, into various countries, some of us say that every country is breaking up. But actually the countries of the world are cementing themselves up. What is hapening in Europe? They want a European economy. They want even monetary things to be combined. There is also a trend in the world for smaller countries to come together for their own survival. Don't forget that. What happened in the Soviet Union is a particular circumstance under which people thought that the economy was in a shambles, that their life was not properly attended to that the freedom was not sufficient. They had various reasons. I am not going to analyse them. But that could not be an index for India. The index for India is what is happening in the world as a whole. In the world as a whole small nations like at larger nations and they combine. Otherwise the European Economic Community and the European Parliament would not have come into existence; otherwise the SAARC would not have materialised here. We want our neighbouring countries to be with us. We want more cooperation and more collaboration. That is why we are a member of the SAARC. We want Pakistan, Sri Lanka, India, everybody, to be together, to prove our strength. This is the world scenario. We cannot forget that fact.

Sir, again, some hon. Members mentioned about the LTTE activities in Tamil Nadu. Unfortunately it tookaway the life of our precious great leader Rajiv Gandhi by which we were all very much upset The House even passed unanimous resolution. The genesis may be something else in Sri Lanka itself. But one thing we must appreciate. Even at the time of Jawaharlal Nehru, the Indian National Congress believed in one thing. That is, people must have an opportunity of determining their method of government and pattern of government. Wherever duly elected Governments are there, our hearts immediately go to them. We were not against Pakistan when our people helped Mujibur Rehman to come to power. We were thrilled to receive refugees from East Pakistan at that time. Millions of them came to West Bengal and other parts of India. Why, Sir? We were unhappy that a duly elected Govern

ment was not allowed to come to power in Dacca. An Indian is always pro-democratic whatever party he belongs to. So the ordinary man in India thought that it was wretched that the military rule in Rawalpindi, Islamabad, said that an elected Government could not come to power. He thought it was immoral to do like that. When Mujibur Rehman came to power, Pakistan broke into pieces. At that time Pakistan thought that we were their enemy No. 1 desroying Pakistan. That was not so. We were supporting a cause, a duly elected Government.

Coming to Sri Lanka, the Sri Lankan Tamils wanted a little more of self-rule or whatever it is. Our Indian mind, especially the people from South India, my friends in Tamil Nadu, throught that it was a right demand and the Tamils should not be subjugated like that in Sri Lanka by the Sinhalese and they must live together. If Frenchmen and Englishmen can live together in Canada with two languages, if Frenchmen and Belgium people can live in Belgium with three languages and if Amsterdam can have four official languages in the university, in such a small State, Holland, we must realise that we can survive when we support democratic aspirations of the people. The only condition is that terrorism is not required to be applied to India by any other country because we believe in election. We give an opportunity for election every five years in the States, at the national level. If there is no election in India, one can say the only way to unseat the Government of Indira Gandhi or that of Rajiv Gandhi is to liquidate the person. But, Sir, what happened here? My party had to sacrifice Mahatma Gandhi, Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gndhi for the unity of this country.

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA: Mahatma Gandhi was not a member of the Congress party. Mahatma Gandhi belonged ot the nation. Do not denigrate him.

SHRI M. M. JACOB: Mahatma Gandhi was attending behind the platform. (*Interruptions*). Mahatma Gandhi attended all the AICC sessions when he was alive. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA: You said, "my party sacrificed". Mahatama Gandhi belonged to the nation. He was the Father of the Nation. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI M. M. JACOB: All our parties are together on many issues. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA: You used the word "my party". (*Interruptions*).

SHRI M. M. JACOB: The area of difference is very marginal and narrow. Only for the survival of political parties, we widen it. The area of difference is very narrow. (*Interruptions*). We agree on many things. (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Please don't interrupt when the Minister is speaking. (*Interruptions*) Mr. Jadhav, when the Minister is speaking, why are you interrupting? Don't interrupt. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI M. M. JACOB: Everyone knows which party has ideologically basic difference from my party. When I say Mahatama Gandhi as the Father of the Nation though he was not a member of the Congress Party.....(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA: You used the word, "my party". (*Interruptions*).

SHRIMATI KAMLA SINHA: At no point of time, Mahatama Gandhi was a member of the Congress party. He was the Father of the Nation. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI M. M. JACOB: Sir, Mahatama Gandhi was the Father of the Nation. I never said, he was a member of the Congress party. I only clarified and said that he was present in the AICC sessions, guiding deliberations while sitting in the Chamber. I have been in this party for a very long period. So I remember all these things. I don't want your time and my time to be taken now. The only thing is, Malaviya Ji, we are all together in various major issues. That is why I started my speech by saying that the major issues today are, terrorism insurgency and extremism. These

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things have to be handled in a different manner, on a different footing with political consensus. With political consensus we have to come to certain conclusions. We have to remove the frustration of the people, the grievances of the people. That is one side of it Consensus is on the other side. These two approaches are necessary for arriving at a possible solution to most of these problems.

Again you mentioned, Malaviya Ji, about the terrorists' killing in Uttar Pradesh. It is true that 14 people were killed on the 17th. You asked, what sophisticated weapons, arms and forces we have supplied, what the Chief Minister wrote to us. The Chief Minister wanted forces to handle the U.P. situation because they thought more terrorists are likely to come to Terai region because of the presence of Army in Punjab and the same feeling was in Rajasthan, Gujarat and Haryana When there is more pressure in Punjab against the terrorists because of the Army presence, it is likely that terrorists might slip into these places and Terai unfortunately is one area, which is recently coming into notice with intensive activities of the terrorists. Sir, what we could do was, immediately listen to that and if you look at it today, almost 55 companies are there—28 CRPF, 21 BSF and another five companies of BSF—and even we are thinking of sending the ITBP if it is necessary. That means forces are supplied when the Chief Ministers demand they need them. We have supplied to our capacity. We are also thinking of giving special training to select forces for combating terrorism and insurgency. The same forces may not be able to tackle this. So special training is required for our forces to tackle this kind of problem. That also is being thought of. Recently about the happenings in Bangladesh, our own senior police officials were sent to Dacca. They had a conference there, met the counterparts discussed the issue and there had arrived at certain modalities. We raised the issue that there were training camps in Bangladesh. They said, "we are not aware of the existence of any training camp; if it is there, we will cooperate and see that it is removed." In Myanmar there is a problem. There is a military rule in Burma There is not an elected Government. We always have elected people; that is the Indian mood. The Indian psyche is that we stand for democracy and elections irrespective of the party. So the present rulers of Burma must have thought that here was a country which must be supprosting those people who were the freedom fighters and they lived in the jungles in the North-East. probably, Sir, that may be one of the reasons for the reported allegations that the Army of Burma is also involved in training insurgents...

SHRI G. G. SWELL: Will you yield for two minutes on this question on Burma, Mr. Minister I was an Ambassador in Burma.

SHRI M. M. JACOB: Yes, I remember.

SHRI G. G. SWELL: Will you yield for a minute?

SHRI M. M. JACOB: Yes, I am yielding.

SHRI G. G. SWELL: Sir, the Government in Rangoon does not run to the northern part of Burma where the Kuchins are living. So it is in the Kuchin hills that the Kuchin Liberation Army is fighting against the Rangoon Government itself, that is giving active assistance to the NSCN and the ULFA in the northern part. It is not really the Burmese Government or the Rangoon Government, but what I would like to say is in view of what is happening in Burma today and the things which are happening there it is time that India thinks in terms of taking more active action in restoring democracy in Burma. whether it is a different question altogether.

SHRI M. M. JACOB: I am not answering that question because it is beyond my capacity to answer it at the moment through I know what it means and what has to be answered. It is not within the purview of my limited subject at the moment. but what you said is true and there is an element of truth in it. The particular terrain

is such and problems are there and we are aware of it. My purpose in bringing this out is that we are aware of the training camps as well as receiving sophisticated weapons through that centre passing on to India for destabilising this country with the knowledge and connivance of the people sitting in various corners, in various parts of the world. I don't want to go beyond that. Sir, whatever it is, we were telling about the north-eastern side. Our friends from Tripura were saying that the tribals were not being attended to. Sir, it is an unfortunate comment because this Government is committed to protecting the interests of the tribal people and this Government is taking every possible step to see that their grievances are redressed. Something happening some day cannot be generalised as an area of wild attack. I don't say that everything is fine everywhere. What I want to say is things are happening in various parts. After all, it is such a huge country. This country has lots of problems. This country is one of the largest countries having millions of people. We have to see whether we are able to achieve what we want or we are going backward or forward...

AN HON. MEMBER: We are going forward....(*Interruption*)...

SHRI M. M. JACOB: Sir, I don't want to yield on that. It is a political question. I know that.

SHRI NARAYAN KAR: I am giving. ...(*Interruption*)...

SHRI M. M. JACOB: You are mentioning it today on the Tripura issue only to say that "your party doesn't have much role in the tribal area in Tripura; so you want to get a market free for that. You are pleading for the tribals here and you want to sell it there." Is it not so. ...(*interruptions*)...Don't argue with me on that I know that, I know that I don't want to go into this kind of thing because I know the political happenings in every part of the country, including the role played by each individual in various parts of the country. You can hide things from me, but I will not say that. I will not speak it out because I believe in certain norms and standards.

SHRI NARAYAN KAR: Are you going to declare the tribal areas as disturbed areas in Tripura?

SHRI M. M. JACOB: If it is necessary, we will consider it but when it is necessary. At the present time, 'no'. Sir, the point is, declaring them as disturbed areas is not an answer to those tribal areas. We have to give various things to these people. We have to rush aid to these people for their security. These are all to be looked into, not only in Tripura but in all places where the Tribals are living. Why is this Left-wing extremism taking place? It is the economic disparity that created this kind of a situation. Some of my friends mentioned about feudalism. You did not allow the land reforms to take place properly. You were not fair to the poor people. You were not fair to the weaker sections of the society. In many parts of the country the haves thought that they can have their way as they like and the have-nots could be just neglected. The have-nots have also realised that they have to organise and do something. This was warned by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru when he was alive. "If you are not able to correct yourself the wind will come and you all will be swept out." That is what Jawaharlal Nehru warned this country. We have to learn from the warning even today that if you are not just and reasonable to the weeaker sections of the society, if you are not able to share your wealth with the people who do not have anything you will really be inviting trouble. I say that the root cause of national disintegration will be your economic disparity where people are really put to difficulties in their day-to-day life. Naxalbari would not have come to Andhra Pradesh in this dismension if you had changed your attitude according to the social changes in the villages. Sir, I am one who worked along with Vinobha Bhaveji in 1963 in his *Bhoodan Padyatra*. He started from Telangana. The whole day-time the Army ruled over the villages and night-time the so-called terrorists. Naxalbari-type of people, came and killed the

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landlords and looted and took away their properties. Again, day-aime the Army came and night-time the plunderers came, the terrorists. We have seen it. How could Vinobha Bhaveji sort it out at that time? He did not want to hear Telengana agitation after a few years. He could sell the message of friendship and peace. He appealed to the landlords at that time that 'you give away some of your lands to the people who do not have land'. That message went through and Vinobha Bhaveji succeeded to a great extent even though it was not a full success at that time. I point out the fact that the message of love and sacrifice has still a place in this country. If you and I are prepared to sacrifice more, if you and I are prepared to show patriotism in our action, I don't think terrorism is going to be a menace in this country. The foreign forces will not be able to subdue India in this way. I am sure, whether in London, or in UK or in Canada, the militant outfits staying there are collecting money. But money cannot buy India. India is a proud nation; that pride cannot be just destroyed by any foreign forces.

Sir, I have many questions to answer. I don't want to answer all points because I know that I have already taken a lot of time. Individual points like how many people were killed and how many people were injured and all such details are there and it goes on for hours and hours together. The sum and substance is that terrorism, insurgery and Left-wing extremism are existing in various parts of the country in one form or the other. There are 20 States and 2 Union Territories where Left-wing extremists are in operation but the dimension is different. Out of this, five States are badly affected. They are Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, a little bit of Maharashtra, a little bit of Bihar and Madhya Pradesh. Terrorists-affected areas are also there. We know that. So, we have to handle that. I only say that the discussion was useful. The foreign involvement was brought out in many fora. I only appeal to my BJP friends—I am only appealing; I am no one to dictate; I understand their political point—to see that our country is more important than anything else. Our philosophy is large. I appeal to them to show charity and mercy to the people.

Before I conclude one more thing. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel assured in this Constituent Assembly outright in 1949, "you don't have to argue for yaur special separate electorate. You minorities, you don't have to argue for them." "Special protection is not necessary for you. We take care of you as a majority community. We, majority community take care of you as minorities. We will protect your interests". The discussion on minorities was concluded by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's intervention and concluding speech. An assurance was given to the minority communities on the floor of the House starting from Sardar Patel to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Sir, I am one who believes that the words of Sardar Patel and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru still have meaning in this country and are still meaningful. If that is true, the BJP will have to think twice when they blunder into areas where suspicion is created in the minds of the people. I don't say it wilfully 'suspicion'. I only leave it at that. It is for others who are fore important than me to decide things. I am a small person in a large country. I am a small person in a small corner of the country. Sir, with this I request the hon. Members to take this opportunity to think seriously for consensus in tackling the terrorist meance and also speedier action to implement the socio-economic reforms in this country.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Now we shall take up discussion on matters of urgent public importance regarding public sector undertakings.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE (Maharashtra): Sir, I find that under the legislative business Item No. 3, "Shri Dalbir Singh to move that the Bill to amend the Sick Industrial Companies (Special Provisions) Act, 1985, as passed by Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration" and "Discussion on the reported move of the Government to close down a number of Public Sector Undertakings" are identical subjects. In order to save time I am requesting that

there can be a common discussion on both the items. Thereafter the Bill cas be passed. I would like you to consider my suggestion that these two subjects may be discussed together. of course, subject to the consent of the Minister of Finance.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: Sir, these are two separate issues. One is to be decided by the Business Advisory Committee. And this Bill is to brought by the Government. Though the subject, to some extent, may be the same, it may be taken separately. If time for the Sick Industrial Companies Bill can be reduced, that can be considered.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): We shall take up both the subjects in accordance with the preference given in the business list.

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : मान्यवर, एक व्यवस्था का सवाल है, इसी पर । यह है कि पब्लिक सैक्टर अंडरटेकिंस करीब-करीब 264–265 हैं अपने देश में ... (व्यवधान) स्टेटमेंट की जरूरत है, चूंकि इसमें कई विभाग हैं । .. (व्यवधान)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): I am not going to allow you. Please sit down.

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : पब्लिक सैक्टर में एग्रीकल्चर है, इंडस्ट्रीज हैं, कैमिकल्स हैं । इसमें करीब-करीब दसों विभाग हैं, जिसमें पब्लिक सैक्टर काम कर रहे हैं । ... (व्यवधान)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): I am not permitting you I am not going to listen to you. When your turn comes, you make your point.

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : मान्यवर, मेरी बात तो सुनिए, जितने विभाग के पब्लिक सैक्टर अंडरटेकिंग हैं उनसे संबंधित मिनिस्टर यहां होने चाहिए, ताकि वे हमें सुनकर जवाब दें । ... (व्यवधान)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): The Minister is there. Government representatives are there. Four Ministers are there. Please take your seat.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: I think, he wants the whole Cabinet here.

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : एग्रीकल्चर विभाग है, तो यह क्या जवाब देंगे ? जितने भी पब्लिक सैक्टर कंट्रोल करते हैं, उनको यहां बुलाईए, ताकि हमारी बातें सुनें । अगर वे हमारी बात आमने-सामने सुनें तो उनके दिमाग में ज्यादा बात आयेंगी ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): If you kill your time like that, your time will be deducted from the alloted time. Please don't interrupt; Yes, Mr: Gurudas Das Gupta.

II. REPORTED MOVE OF THE GOVERNMENT TO CLOSE DOWN A NUMBER OF PUBLIC SECTOR UNDERTAKINGS ON GROUNDS OF SICKNESS.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA (West Bengal): Sir, at the outset let me state that while discussing public sector undertakings, let us discuss it by cutting across party lines and party affiliations. Why do we discuss public sector undertakings? We discuss public sector not because somebody has called it sick. We discuss public sector because public sector happens to be the most important tool in the hands of the State to bring about equitable and balanced social and economic growth in the country. Let me begin the discussion by putting a question to the Government and to the House. Is it possible to discuss the performance of the public sector without discussing the level of economic development of the country... (*interruptions*) ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta,